

THE  
**MODERATOR**  
 EXPECTING  
**SUDDEN PEACE,**  
 OR,  
**CERTAIN RUINE.**

*British Tracts*

1643 ①

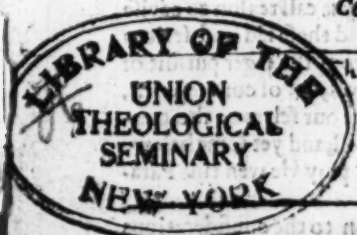
WITH  
 Some Quære's and Conjectures concerning  
 the present state of this Kingdom.

Directed by Reason, arising out of the Consideration of  
 what hath already happened, Our present Con-  
 dition, and the most likely Consequents  
 of These.

Virg. Æneid.—*Tales casus Cassandra caneas.*

Lib. 3. — *Quem tum vates Cassandra moveret?*

*Cedamus Phæbo, & moniti meliora sequimur.*



*Th. Povey*



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Mongst the many complaints posterity may justly take up against us, it shall never be said, that we did all wilfully blind the eyes of our reason, and would not see the Evills, which with an unveiled face shewed themselves, in their full horror, before they came upon us. For my part, if I must perish, my fate and want of prevention, not of foresight shall betray me to it; whilst the results of our designs, and the miseries that must necessarily befall us, offer themselves so easily to our apprehension, before we feele them. But it is not our mere contemplative providence, but a discreet exercise of it, that can be able to rescue us from the ruine that attends us. And though it is not the pious care of a few single men, that can save even themselves, much lesse the perishing state, whose decayed Fabrick is on every side undermined, and ready to fall in peeces: yet surely it is every mans duty to lend his best assistance to the common safety, because if we perish it must be by our owne hands. And since it is at our owne election what shall become of us: Let us call reason to advise with, let us thoroughly looke into our condition: And these sad and serious considerations, may perhaps reclaime many of us from the eager pursuit of things, which we have too violently fancied to our selves, out of conveniency, necessity, or some other politique reaches, to advantage our selves or the publique. We are now arrived almost to the extremities of ill; and yet some beleeeve that there is a way to grow better, by growing worse. I pray Heaven this Paradox may not undoe us.

But before we set one foot forward, and march on to the considerations which are before us, let us make a stand, and take a review of the actions and succeffe, which we have already had, in the high contestations between Prince and People.

VVarres, like diseases, are a long while working upon the humors, before they

they discover themselves: And there are indeed many things of consequence, that did secretly fore-run and usher in this Warre, which I shall at most but touch upon. The curious searching into these things may perhaps inflame, cannot qualifie our distempers. Our proper interest now is to get out of these miseries, to which we seem to have been unhappily betrayed, by endeavouring without successe, (saith one,) or providence, (saith another,) or enough of both (saith a third, for thus boldly men discourse now) a high and Imperious reformation; which by the cunning use that Delinquents, the Prelacy, and the Agents for Prerogative have made of it, hath in stead of removing, created new opposites: and those have so fastned themselves, that they cannot be overthrowne without more then endangering the very foundations of the Commonwealth. And we are making so much haste to the Ruine, which that grand Engineer the Jesuite hath this many yeeres been designing for us, that we have two Armies fighting against themselves, for the common good: and they are now growne both so considerable, that it is almost impossible that any good can be effected by them, untill very many thousands more shall fall by the Sword; and, how we shall call any thing good, that shall be bought at so bloody a price, I know not. Let us but trace the foot-steps of our misfortunes, and we shall see by what degrees we are grown into these extremities. And how we have (as it were by inches) engaged our selves into new and desperate mischiefs. How one extreame hath begot another: And whilst we have had one designe to overcome a prevailing evil, we have by that raised up a worse. I have heard that Poison hath sometimes been wrought out by a contrary poison; but the wary Philitian holds the cure but desperate, and scarce can tell, which is most destructive the Medicine or the Disease. For where the contestation is so violent, it seldome happens that it doth not destroy the Patient. To come closer: It seemes our peace was so corrupt, that it was held requisite it must be lanced with the Sword. I pray Heaven our Chirurgeons cut not so farre, that instead of letting out Putrifaction; they let not out our very Vitals, by too deep, too wide a wound. But I shall make haste to my promise, which is to make it evident, how destructive this kind of Decision hath been and must be to us; which will appeare from the first Overtures of it, and in every thing that hath happened since.

When the *Militia*, the *Navy*, and the *Ports* (which were the common strength of the Kingdome) were first put into new confiding hands (whether out of prevention or preparation) I looked upon this action, as like to that Cloud, which first shewed it selfe to the *Prophets servants*, to be as big as a mans hand; and I feared that I should afterward see it darken all our *Heavens*, all our happineffe: and at last fall into fatall and bloody showers. *Jealousie* of this nature is the *Fore-runner* and *Inflamer* of all *Mischiefes*; when this discovered it

selfe so plainly in the *King*; and had so divided not onely the Head from the Members, but the Members amongst themselves: he that did not then fear consequences of an high and dangerous nature, was too secure; and surely never considered, that a *Parliament* is the *Genius* of the *State*; and when that was poisoned with *jealousie*: it subtilly mingled it selfe with every Countie as deriving it from their *Representatives*. Here the people might take the first notice of the contestation; and from that time they encountered each other with invective Declarations (worse than gun-shot) which heightened the quarrell, and invited the amused people to lay aside their peace; and shew themselves, on which side they would rather choose to hazard their fortunes. Here began the first eager Division: for by this meanes, the discountenanced *Gentrie* (who were removed from their *Commands*, and so, from the usuall respect they had in their Countie) fastened themselves in opinions opposite to the Parliamentary proceedings: And the common people, (disputing over earnestly of these things) did at last, according to the reason they were able to see, discourse themselves into a resolute conceit of things, which as their passions and humours led them) they have all this while prosecuted.

The *Subjects* being now stirred, and divided: The great *Gamesters* of the *State* go higher; The more active of the *Parliament* are accused by the *King* of *Treason*: The *Kings Advisers*, to whose Counsels He seemed most to adhere are impeached by the *Parliament* for *Traitors*. And now they hold themselves concerned to stand, or fall, with those that both sides ayimed at. So that it is time that they be further asunder: for distance affords many advantages to worke a *Designe* higher, or else may be a meanes to compose those differences, which are still renewing, whilst the *Antagonists* are together. The *King* therefore removes *Northward*, to finde out that safetie, which (he saith) is denied him here: and to gain a partie to ballance those, whom already he accounts his *Enemies*.

Thus the *Scene* begins to alter; and in stead of reforming (the proper worke of *Parliaments*;) we shall see it busied and almost puzzled in saving (for so they call it) a distressed *Church* and *State*. And from henceforth, we must look upon it as a Councell of *War*, and must not expect to finde it punctuall in the observance of any fixed *Law*: but that Common Law, called *Salus populi*, must be produced as a general warrant for all their undertakings: And that *Statute-Law* enacted even by Nature it selfe, called *Lex necessitatis*; must be made to justifie all manner of *severitie* and *violence*. And this must be all the satisfaction, the complaining *Subject* shall be able to obtain.

The most eminent discoverie of this *War*; which openly offered it selfe to the consideration of the People, was that great contention about the Town of *Hull*. And although it cost not much blood; yet was it made an occasion to  
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ingage the businesse very far: The *Warre* was sooner seen to the people, then the *Reasons* of it: and though they could not define what the quarrell was; yet they begin to finde that they must end it, and seele the effects of it. And, to startle them the more, their doubts are nourished and increased by the well penned papers from the North: and in a few months, are perswaded to unbelieve that, which the *Actions*, and the sense of many yeeres before, had almost confirmed in them. Thus the *King* perceives, that to defend the property and liberty of his subjects, (though but with the shadow of them) with promises and protestations, catches the affections of his *credulous People*; and almost recovers and fixes them in their obedience. How much then, will they be his, when these promised blessings shall be theirs in earnest?

And what advantage have we had by any thing hath yet been acted by the sword? what present reparation or what likely hopes, hath the abused subject for the expence of so many millions? for the losse of so much bloud? & for the dangerous hazard of their peace? that jewell which indeed we know not how to value, untill it be lost? Some of the Malignants bloud hath been had, though bought with as much of the adverse party. Our Towns have been yielded and recovered on both sides; whole Countries have been plundered; thousands have been undone; Skirmishes we have had in many places. A set Battaille (the with of our *Sonnes of Mars*) hath been fought with almost equall losse and successe; as if Heaven had told us we are both in fault; both worthy of an overthrow, but neither of us of victory: the best part of a yeere hath been made up happy whilst every day saw new Tragedies. And after all this, how much nearer, nay how much farther off, are we from the Peace, or from the Endes we seemed to aime at? The quarrell by all this, is but inflamed; jealousies grow higher; Malice growes stronger; Poverty comes upon us like an armed man: Humanity is almost turned to cruelty, and Nature and friendship, are not able to restraine our inconsiderate fury. The Sword must hereafter become chiefe Justice; and will dispence with and comptroll all Law. From henceforth Robbery shall change its name, and be called no more a crime then borrowing: the killing of our Country men must be called valour, and a service to the State: the opposing our selves against the chiefe Fort and strength of the subject, the great councill of Parliament, must be called Allegiance and duty: disobedience to the commands of our Prince, must be called Loyalty: and in brieft, (such is the tyranny of Warre) we must see an inversion of all order, Confusion in all our services to Heaven and Earth; and a *Chaos*, in stead of that admirable composure, which many yeares of peace had ere now fixed this State in, if those that have of late times been over us, had done their parts; How like to these calamities the miseries we have felt already, are, the sad experience of too many may witnesse, who have drunk

deep of this bitter Cup: But the dregs are as yet behind; in which every survivor must have a share, it Heaven will have us to pledge its vengeance farther.

Although such times as these will scarce give us leave to call any thing our own; yet I hope they will let us enjoy the use of our reason still, which shall alwayes lead my Faith, and expectation in such open affaires as these. And when that shall tell me how requisite the prosecution of this War is, and how it may advantage the state, I shall be convinced; but untill then I shall be obstinate in this opinion (hoping that it will not fall out to be against the sence of the Parliament : *That a peace warily concluded by an Accomodation must be the happiest issue that can be given to these Differences.*

But ere I settled my selfe in this opinion, I enquired out (as far as possibly I could) all the conveniences and inconveniences, that War or Peace may beget, and as well as my reason would give me leave, have weighed, which are likely to be the heaviest. And I hope I shall be excused by every one, that shall descend into these following Considerations.

First, what probably this War aims at. In this conjecture, it will besit us to be very modest, and rather to thinke, then to speake out : we shall not therefore examine what allyance (I meant in the birth of it) there is betwixt this, and that with the *Scots*. Nor whether the prerogative commenced it, to protect it selfe against an invading power, which seemed to threaten it, (as some would have it) or to perfect the designe of many yeares before, to be absolute master of the people, (as others conceive) or whether the Parliament begun it to secure themselves, and fetch in Delinquents, (as we are bid believe) or to confirm that by the sword, which no other assurances could ever make good unto them; and so bring the government some-what neere to an Aristocracie (as some have suggested;) Or whether indeed the reason of the War be a Miscelany of all these. But how justifiable, how necessary, and on which side this War was defensive or offensive, I shall not undertake to debate or determine. These are dangerous mysteries, not to be pried into. It wil be enough for us to enquire how far it tends to the generall good; by what hath already happened, and what must happen in the prosecution of it.

We must believe (where ere this War began) that it was levied by well weighed policy, and upon considerate grounds; and we must not conceite but the designe was only to secure the Kingdome, and rescue it, from some Enemies that are in the bosome of it, which have malignantly thwarted the long-looked for blessings of this Parliament. And it is confessed (though not agreed on) by both Armies, that our Religion, Lawes, Liberties, and whatsoever is or should be deare unto us, lies at the stake; and that they weare their Swords only to defend these : and that these cannot be safe, unlesse one of them prove victorious.

Thus

Thus our cause is much like a riddle; It were surely better for us, to have it understood by the deliberation and wisdom of a parley, then by such meanes as *Alexander* used to untie the *Gordian knot*, the violence of the sword. If Religion be the principall reason; how few hopes have we to see it rectified by War which is the curse of barbarisme? The souldier the instrument of this kind of Reformation (after he shall be a little more versed in his rude profession we shall scarce ever finde devoted to any thing of Religion besides the pretence & noyse of it, in their talke, only to set a glosse upon their quarrell: from them we must looke for little else, but profanation and sacriledge. And suppose these men of War prove more civill and pious then all other Souldiers before them; what religion shall we expect to be exercised during this War, which will be a continued Holy-day to all licentiousnesse? when as in this necessitated intermission of strict government how many new fancied religions boldly discover themselves? how little reverence, and how much profanation have we seen? Religion is a child of peace, and if an aged peace have the fostering of it, it will be hard to keepe it cleare from innovations, and superstition, (the endeavours of the idle Olergy) and that state that cannot, or will not remove these mischiefs without the sword, endangers the very body of it, whilst it would only lop off the extravagancies.

Such effects as these, we can only looke for, when a lasting War shall undertake to compose a divided Church: it may (some have thought) happen otherwise, if the designe be so advisedly laid and so vigorously prosecuted that the execution of it shall be suddaine.

But, it will be told me, when the Parliaments Army hath gotten the victory, and all oppositions shall be removed, so that they may without interruption reach their ends, such a Reformation will be effected, as shall recompence the disturbance in the gaining of it. Any man that consults with his unbiassed reason, cannot well promise this to himselfe: for we shall finde such a victory and such a reformation very doubtfull. But we will suppose them conquerors. It hath been the opinion of some, that successe may somewhat heighten their religious designs; and suggest such things as easy and convenient, which before their very imagination durst not reach at. Then they will have time to consider all their opposites, even those, who (before this reformation grew so violent) were accounted Puritans. Then it is likely, neither roote nor branch, of our old Church order shall be left, nor any signe where it grew. And though perhaps themselves could be contented with a more even and moderate reformation; It may be feared that the loud people, delighting in change, and grown insolent with their successe will call for a mutation in every circumstance, and when they have found their strength, will thinke nothing enough if they have not all that their wild and unlimited Zeale approves of.

And

And (if some mistake not) the interest of the Parliament will then be, to settle a more rigid government (to say no more) in the Church, then will now satisfy them and all modest Protestants.

And on the contrary, our condition cannot well be such as we could wish it, if the subjects of *England* make the King a Conquerour whether he will or no (nor is this impossible.) Doe we believe the prelacy and the other ambitious Clergy, will then be any whit lesse insolent then they have been? will they not rather adde to, then diminish their ceremonies? will they not pretend that preaching hath seduced the people, and begat heresies? that the Pulpit was the late incendiary to the great mischiefs, and therefore take a pious occasion to be Idle, and make the abused people believe, that the Common Prayer tends more to their salvation, then the frequency of preaching? will these men of the cassocks be lesse vicious in their lives? lesse corrupt in their Doctrine? lesse exacting in their Tythes and pretended dues, then heretofore? And, to conclude, will it lye in the interest or the power of the King, (when he shall be busied to settle the confused Common-Wealth for his best advantage,) to bridle his Clergy, which ever were, are, and will be the most considerable sticklers when any bustle or mutation happens in a state; we must then looke to finde these sort of men still like themselves, so busy as if their employment were rather to improve prerogative, then salvation. Their predecessors (History tells us) were almost alwaies opposers of their Prince. And, (some are of opinion) that they doe otherwise now, not because their Religion, but their interest is altered. And (it hath been alwaies unhappily obserued) that, their conscience followes their dependancy; and that they put their cases, and state their questions, as much by the motions of the latter as the former.

And if there were ever any reason to be jealous of the incroaching power of papists, it will be then: for if the King (for his preservation, and through necessity, the reasons now urged upon this occasion) be driven to make use of them to doe his business and by their help become victorious; the Common people may feare that they shall hereafter see as much popery mingled in their worship as in their Armies: and those of better judgement, cannot but conceive, that when Papists have merited so much from the King that they will be more modest with him, then with God, from whom they dare challenge a requitall for their merits: and upon such a turne as this, it will be to their great advantage that the people (to whom the reputed Puritans and Round-heads must by all meanes be made odious,) will be lesse troubled, if some of those severe statutes against them, be repealed, or despened with, and some other things be done in their favour; for being trustier Subjects to the King of *England* (the first time, it was ever thought they could be so) then many of his Protestant Subjects.

Such

Such consequences as these we must look for on both sides, if the partial sword, and not the indifferent Synod must be the Ecclesiastical reformer.

The Religion which all moderate men (and I thinke the most, and best) desire, is that which both sides promise; and yet that which wee cannot well expect from either side, should it become absolute. It is such a one as may be found out betwixt them both; and (wee may hope) may make all men happy, if it be tempered with a reasonable yeelding on both sides. But if the decision must be by blood and victory, the prevailers are then bound, and perhaps necessitated to gratifie their party with that kind of discipline which their humours call for; they must looke to fasten themselves by that power, and those principles by which they gained it. When as it is like to be quite otherwise, if peace suspend these differences; both sides must then goe on in an even and well tempered course, that they may politically hold fast that party, which their promises and faire protestations won to them. It will then be hoped, that the contention will be, which shall be most plausible; and it will be better for the people to have their affections invited then forced.

Thus we find that Religion will looke most comely, dressed in the white garments of peace, rather then the purple robes of warre. And seeing Religion is many times but a servant to other designs, and goes before, onely to usher in some great affaire of State, in the same order it shall be followed now; and wee shall in the next place examine how the State shall be bettered by a mastery of either side.

Would we have the Lawes better exercised which our Predecessors left to us? how much out of countenance Law is, when the sword domineeres, we need not be informed by History. And when this war shall see an end, with how much difficulty shall we be rendered capable of the usuall course and benefit of it? And we know not who by that time, may become Patron and Master of our Law and Nation: or would we have new Lawes to serve our turnes now? or confirme those wee have gained this Parliament? If that the sword shall draw up new Statutes; it is likely they would be but short liv'd, or uselesse: for no politique ties; no, not the most sacred assurance of an oath, could ever make Princes observe the execution of them.

And it may be feared, that such violent gaining upon the Crowne, may be an occasion hereafter, to wrest from us all those advantages which the Subject hath dearly bought this Parliament, under pretence that violence was the mother of them all.

Our liberties are not like to be much enlarged or secured by it. Martiall Law will ere long disseize us of our Possessions, our Estates and Lives; and what Judge shall be able to redresse us? and wee must run a hazzard, what kind of free-men or slaves wee must be hereafter.



So that upon all this enquire, it is hard to bee satisfied how our Religion, Lawes or Liberties shall be improved by such a warre as wee are engaged in, unless the more pious and well-meaning party will promise certaine and sudden successe, both of which will be necessary to make it any thing likely; but of these more in the close of all.

But when we have supposed, that wee shall be bettered in all these when the warre is ended; let us with an intentive eye, looke upon the miseries which must be our entertainment whilst the war continues: That which wee have seene or heard already of it, is no more then a sad Prologue to an ensuing Tragedie, which onely tells us what wee are to expect; but the following acts shew us those bloody passages at large.

As yet the Souldier hath not devoured the Husband-mans store; but, without much trouble findes *Bread* for himselfe, and *Provender* for his *Horse*; but where will hee seeke it, when hee hath spoyled the *springing grasse*, and trampled downe, or eaten up the *growing corne*? The Husband-man will be affraid to venture his seed in the *ground*, not knowing who shall reape it; or, if hee would be so hardie, perhaps, he wants his *Horses* to plough, or his *Hands* to helpe him.

And such will be our griefe, that wee must not looke for succour from our neighbour Counties: for every one of them is like to be the *Seat* of warre; and so many Armies must needs consume Cattel and Sheep, and the Farmers stocke, and so beget a famine. A famine never comes without sad companions, as the Plague, small Pox, Flux, and many more such servants of death.

Thus Provision, the chiefe support of this populous Kingdome, will be suddenly wasted; and thus, those whom war spares, want or violent diseases will devour; and so wee shall many wayes perish without the sword, yet by it.

It is to no purpose to demonstrate how the treasure of this Land, heaped up by a long liv'd peace, will be suddenly powred out, and be seene no more: thus many times doth a carefull and aged father leave a hard gotten Patrimony to a scattering sonne. And, how certaine the utter decay of trade (the livelihood of the State) will be; how Art that was comming into such a perfection amongst us, will be lost, and, as it were, unlearn't; how learning, the glory of our Nation, will be disesteemed and uselesse, and changed into martiall Discipline: how poverty will so generally sieze almost upon all; that the violence of it will every where create us new enemies (if the Souldier spares us) which will take away our goods by the authenticke Law of necessity, and snatch away the meate from our mouthes, making hunger their warrant.

But I will pursue this common place no further; these are the generall consequences



consequences of warre; wee will therefore reflect more closely upon our owne more peculiar mischiefs.

If wee must put off Peace untill another time, how desperate are wee? For, those that ingage us in a warre, are not able to tell us, when, where, how, and by whom it shall end, (this the late and sad experience of other people may tell us.) The question hereafter will be, not so much, where is the Right? But where is the Power? For the Right of Power must carry the businesse. And then it will be beyond Probability that this Kingdome ever recover the purity of it's Religion, it's Lawes, it's Customes, it's Government, which have beene feeling about five hundred yeeres; nor let our present Superiours be angry at the conjecture; for I cannot assure my selfe, who shall live to strike the last blow. And it hath in all ages beene observed, that designs in warre change like Scenes in a Masque, where we see new apparitions ere we are aware of them: And the events of one yeere, may, beyond all expectation, vary, or heighten the quarrell. And it is alwayes found, that successe lifts men up above themselves; for a prevailing power seldome knowes any bounds or modestie, the Subject will want his old sanctuary then, which our Predecessors provided; for, Lawes are but the ligaments of Peace, and the Souldier will breake them like threads.

But I shall be asked, why my bold imagination hath phansied such terrible things as these? Wee will therefore see how gradually wee must come to such a condition as this.

And first, because wee will not undertake to define the quarrell as it now stands, largely, nor sawcily; we will conceive it thus: "*A working jealousy, fixed in a divided Kingdome, both sides choosing rather to die then to trust one another.*" From this root must necessarily spring these inconveniences.

The most uncharitable mischief that a Common-wealth can be ingaged in, is, That wee must execute the designs of our enemies upon our selves; that the King may receive his death from the hand of a Subject whilst it is reached forth (if you will believe his Vowes) for his good and safety: that the father sending his bullet at a venture, may kill his sonne, or the sonne his father; this is probable enough: but it is impossible, that brothers, kindred and friends should not mingle in one anothers blood, (and perhaps, purposely) wee see such an eager division in all Families. And it is so universall, that no Countie, scarce any Citie or Corporation is so unanimous, but they have division enough to undoe themselves. And it is evident enough, that this Rent will encrease untill wee shall be quite torne in pieces: For, when the farall sluice of bloud shall be drawne up higher, in all probabilitie, the veines of the remaining People

(swelling with revenge for their battered partie) are likely to be drained dry throughout the Kingdome. If we will leave our differences to the dispute of the Sword, wee shall not want an Umpire; one that will come in to part us, or part stakes with us. Let this Mediatour chance to be of a Religion like ours, or of one quite opposite unto it; who shall pay the Souldiers for their journey-work? Must money be raised for them? It must be digged for then; I beleeve little will be found above ground. Or must promises serve the turne? The Souldier seldome returnes with such pay. Or must plunder satisfie them? This may stay their stomacks, although it be but the Reliques of our owne men of war; but will not be able to send them back againe. No; wee shall find that the interest of that State must be satisfied either with our Ruine, or with mingling themselves in our Estates and Government.

Or suppose our neighbours will wink on purpose, and neglect their advantages, though it were meere sottishnesse to conceit so; upon whose purse shall our enemies at home, our owne Armies live? Must the Countries maintaine them? It must bee then by the Farmer: but hee can neither sow, nor reap, nor breed up, nor repaire his stock, in the heat of such a war as ours. Else must the Clothier do it? whence shall he have his many necessaries, and how shall he vent his clothes? If these faile, the Countries cannot be long considerable, in enduring the burthen of Armies. Is it expected the Citie must doe all this? That little which they have got before hand, and make their store, is so impaired, that it will scarce maintaine themselves, unlesse it be by a continued course of trading; which, as it is now languishing, so it will be, ere that time, quite dead and buried. The Citie is as it were the stomach, which digests the trading of the whole Kingdome; and afterwards returnes to everie severall part of it, that nourishment which supports it: if weaknesse and obstructions be found there, a consumption soone steales upon the whole body. But suppose it were rich, and full enough to serve the turne; yet they will not let downe their milk to a violent hand: they must be stroked and humoured, else they will be stubborne. If they chance to be at discord, it will be hard to collect any considerable sums; and if that discord be heightened (by the cunning practice of any) into a mutiny amongst themselves, they will be able to undoe one another, without the help of a draining Army. Thus wee may see, our necessities will encounter and overcome us, if wee must live and dye (and living thus is worfe than dying) in this lingring war. And after all these horrid executions of Fire, Sword, Famine, Pestilence, and those many other sad consequences of war; what face at the best will this Kingdome have? what a ruinous Nobilitie, what a decayed Gentry, what a beggerly Commonaltie will it be peopled withall? And what age shall ever see those  
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Fewds eaten out, which these Civill Broyles will beget ? For we shall find, that as Jealousie was the mother of them, so Malice, Hatred, and Revenge, will be the issue. And when shall a State so distempered; look for a quiet, or a safe compsure ? For War, like a strong disease, leaves many dregs and reliques behind it, which (though the maine Forces be disbanded, and it be no more an Army, a Fever) will punish the uncleaned body with severall fits and distempers.

We shall find that men nursed up in war grow sick of peace, and are like Tinder, ready to be inflamed into sedition, or high attempts, by everie spark which Ambition, or any other exorbitant desire lets fall. And if it shall be held a necessarie policie to hold up a war in any other place, to spend their fierie spirits; the State will be as good as beggered to be thus rid of them : And it may be feared, that the meaner sort will forget the usuall toyle of their former professions, by the licentiousness in the war; and will never after be brought to endure order, or labour : and so will returne to corrupt the Common-wealth, with their lawlesse manners.

I could add many more Instances; but I think there needs no more to be urged, to shew us how miserable wee must necessarily be. Yet I must not omit the Motive which distressed *Ireland* offers unto us : which now represents the verie Condition we must look for ; if a sudden Peace do not happily prevent it.

If we could look upon it, as ready to be undermined, and falling into the Ocean, so that no footing would be left there for our Adversaries, though we could not but pitie it, and our selves; yet then all our feares would bee drowned with it : but we must consider it, as one of our maine Bulwarks, gained and fortified not without infinit expence of the treasure and blood of our Ancestors: and that it is now ready to be possessed by a dangerous enemy, who from thence will for ever batter our Peace; and it is likely, may make such breaches, as may let in hereafter (if we escape them now) as many miseries as *Ireland* now groanes under. Nor are all these mischiefs which I have summed up, more certaine, than the successe of either side is doubtfull ; so that if we doe grant (to satisfie such as will on both sides have it so) that nothing but the good of the State is intended ; How shall we be assured, that that pious Partie (which truly hath the most right) shall have the successe ? and how soone they will be able to accomplish it ? For as I have proved, there will be nothing left us to be preserved, if it hold out long. But upon consideration, wee shall find that both the successe, and the conclusion of it, are verie uncertaine. Wee know that God many times useth the Sword, as well to avenge himselfe upon his People, as his People upon one another : and, that neither side have deserved so well, as to promise themselves the masterie ; although they dare aver, their Cause is best.

So that I shall rather direct my judgement by Reason, than Presumptions; and shall therefore weigh these great Opposites, to find out which of them hitherto hath had the greater success, and which hath the most probable advantages at this time.

It is scarce a yeere since all affaires, of what nature soever, received their enlivening Influence from the King, through his Parliament: which like a Burning-glasse contracted the Sunne beames into it selfe, and was able to give fire to almost any Designe it pleased to reflect on; but those Rayes which did then display themselves beside it, did spend themselves in vaine. During this full Authority, they furnished themselves with all means that might defend them from the Counter-plots of those, who they had reason to believe, could not endure the strict Reformation which was suddenly intended.

Therefore, ere the People are aware, or know why they see all the considerable Forts and Ports of the Kingdome, the *Navie*, the *Militia*, and all the strength of the State sequestred from the immediate commands of the Prince. And because there is little strength in these things, unless they be manned and maintained with the affections and assistance of the People, such courses are taken as may excite the most.

Therefore the first Remonstrance (the unhappy Historie of the foregoing times) opened the eyes of the People (not used to see so farre into such Mysteries) and discovers enough to heighten a dislike against such as must owne those mis-carriages, and a feare, that those that heretofore contrived so many mischiefs against the State, had not yet laid downe their Designe. And that this danger should be more apparent, a concurrence of plots and conspiracies, both from abroad and home, is discovered by many severall Intelligencers: so that scarce a day passes, in which the State seemes not to be delivered from some eminent treason.

By this time their Feares are not lesse than their Dangers, and their Resolution growes as great as their Feare: so that any reasonable man could not believe that the Enemy that must doe all these fore-told mischiefs, could lodge within us and rise against us, without being suppressed in the very infancie of the Designe. Yet wee have found, that notwithstanding all these Politique Ground-works, and Preventions; the Prophecie of the Parliament is thus farre come to passe, that wee are likely to be destroyed; but it wounds us deep, when wee consider, who seeme to be partly the occasioners of it.

Hee therefore that shall consider all circumstances, cannot but thinke it almost impossible, that the King, lately so much out of favour with the People; so divested of all things that conduce to the making of a war (but Resolution, and the discontents of a few others) should be able

to get together so considerable an Armie, and such a party as dare shew themselves in every quarter of the Kingdome: Nor had he done it, had not his agents gathered infinite advantages which were let fall to them by some whose interests should have made them more wary. Some doe inferre out of this, That the King of *England* cannot complaine (though but in meere policie) but the passionate people will pity him, though they fight against themselves. If these finde themselves oppressed with the effects of such a warre, they are easily invited to change their party (as discontented men doe the ayre, and sicke men their beds) though they be never the more eased by it; and had rather submit themselves to the naturall obedience of their Prince, then to the severe and unusuall commands of any other power, though they are told, that they tend to their preservation. Thus, by weighing these passed considerations we finde that successe doth often coven our experiences; and will not alwayes follow humane designes, though they seeme to be groundd upon the most right and certainty; and after all this struggling and weakning of the Kingdome the opposition growes stronger, and the event still more dangerous and doubtfull. Yet wee will see as farre as wee can at distance, on which side advantages leanie most.

The ground of such a warre as this, is the affections of the People; and upon this, both Armies are built, and kept up: wee will therefore guesse which of them hath the surest foundation. It hath been observed, the Parliament hath made little difference, (or not the right) between the Gentry and Yeomanry, rather complying and winning upon the latter, then regarding or applying themselves at all to the former. And they may be thus excused; they did not thinke it justice to looke upon any man according to his quality, but as hee was a Subject; I hope this was all the reason: but howsoever, it appeares not that they yet have, or are likely to gaine by this policie. The common people, could they be fixed, were onely worth the courting at such a time: but they are almost alwayes heady and violent, seldome are lasting and constant in their opinions; they that are to humour them must serve many Masters; who, though they seeme, and indeed are, their inferiours; yet grow imperious, upon many occasions: many actions of merit, how eminent soever, shall not prevaile with them to excuse one mistake; want of successe, though that be all the crime, makes them angry, murmuring and jealous: whereas a Gentleman is better spirited, and more resolute; and though he suffereth by it, had rather sticke to that power that will countenance him, then to that which makes no difference betwixt him and a Peasant. The Gentleman follows his Resolution close, and wins of his silly neighbours many times, either by his power, by his example, or his discourse, when as they have

have an easie Faith, quickly wrought upon, and upon the next turne will fall off in sholes. They are a body certainly of great consequence, when they are headed and ribb'd by the Gentrie; but they have a Craven or an unruly courage, (which at best may rather be called Obtinacie then Resolution) and are far lesse considerable, when the most part of the Gentrie, or chiefe Citizens divide themselves from them.

We shall find the Parliament hath nothing to cement it selfe, to increase and fix their party, and keep it from staggering, but a little temporary reputation, and a resolution to hold fast to the publike good; and this (if things run so high as they do now) will be called rebellious stubbornnesse, and be branded with the foule imputation of Treason. Whereas the King (as the chiefe Master and Dispenser of the Common-wealth) is able to fit the humour of every man that he hath a mind to take off: Hee hath honour for the proud, places of trust for the ambitious, inferiour offices for the busie man; favour and promises, and a possibility of severall preferments, to invite all sorts of men to him: He hath the power of a Pardon to hold out like a Lure, to fetch in such as have turned taile; yet perhaps, would come in againe, but dare not stoop till that calls them in.

The humour of changing is epidemicall; as infectious to the next neighbour as the plague; and if it should spread farther about *London*, whence shall the supplies come? A Prince by his agents will keepe of the aid of forraigne States from them: but is seldome denyed some contribution towards his owne defence. And if they contribute any thing, it will be just so much as shall serve to hold up the warre; and will give it as fewell to maintaine the fire, not as water to suppress and quench it: For they never yeeld assistance where their advantage shall not largely recompence it. And if it so fall out, that the interest of an adjoyning State shall chance to be mingled with the actions of the neighbouring subjects, their Prince will use all arts (having the most expert instruments for it) to disable or take off that party: he may qualifie that State before hand; by parting with some thing he hath right unto; or may doe it, by corrupting some eminent Engineer there; some great Officers, and some of the most popular men; or by kindling some divisions amongst them, so to busie them at home, that whilest their owne house seemes to be on fire, and like to burne further, they may not be at leisure to quench their neighbours flames.

There is a President that seemes to encourage very much the prosecutors of this warre; and that is the late successe of our brethen in *Scotland*. But, I feare, if we parallel our present condition and theirs together, wee shall find, that wee shall differ point-blank in most circumstances, but the nature of the cause.

1 When



2 When their great worke first began, the thre Kingdomes were generally discontented; and they all did as it were conspire to its assistance, either in secret or openly, conceiving it to bee their owne businesse, their owne quarrell.

Secondly, amongst our great men here, there were very few stood neere the sterne, and those not at all plausible with the people. And our chiefe Nobilitie and Gentry had no countenance shewed them at Court, an could not on the sudden be so farre engaged on that side as the service required, but joyned together at the treaty in the North to get easie conditions for them.

Thirdly, though the Kings Counsellours had been long practising to make their best advantage of a Peace, yet they knew not how to bestirre themselves properly in a Warre. Very few of them being fit to be Military states-men. Because untill then, Souldiers had never been countenanced; A man in Buffe was a rare sight in Court.

Fourthly, the Papists (although their Agents and their Purfes were busie) never shewed themselves in a body.

Fifthly, the Cavalery, both at home, and from abroad, (whence many came to a more uncertaine service,) did beleve, that they fought for their Country, and not against the King, whilst they opposed themselves against his Army.

Sixthly, they fought against another Nation (an old Enemie scarce quite reconciled) and had no Reluctancie, no feare of killing a Father, a Brother, a Kinsman (scarce a Country-man.) They (being 'alwayes as politique as charitable) would hardly have accounted us as Brethren, had wee thwarted their Designs, we being to be thought so farre deere to them, as they may be benefited by us.

Seventhly, The seat of the Warre was out of their owne Confines; and they had so ordered it, that if their businesse could not be done without the prosecution of it: It should be acted in another Countrey, the spoyle of which would make no tender conscience amongst them to recoile, they being to make their advantage both by enriching themselves, and weakening us.

Eightly, they had not the controlling presence of awfull Majesty, which takes off, prevents, and counter-plots the Designs of any that are working neere to it.

And lastly, (not to looke into more private Reasons (which perhaps might be urged) we shall find that the condition and temper of the People and Government of *Scotland*, well weighed with ours (at this time) will be very different, and may well divert us from levelling at the same ends. And this also may be a generall answer, they being a People watchfull for their own advantage, had the lucke (with the Diseased in the Gospell) to step first into the

waters after they were troubled, and found the benefit of it: Whereas those that came after tryed the Cure in vaine.

But to goe on in our Argument of Advantage or disadvantage : When once the people shew themselves to be sensible of the smart of War, nothing can so much wipe away the remembrance of former injuries and ingratiate any party, as to be forwardest (though but in meere shew) to an Accomodation. The People (not being able to see far into the secret consequences of War, and Peace) will begin to looke upon those as their enemies whom they shall find most adverse to Peace. And therefore though a Treaty may bring many weighty Inconveniencies to one side more then the other ; yet the humouring of the people is of so much consequence, that it is too great an advantage to let it bee oppressed and not received with the same seeming eagernesfe. Who hath made the best use of this policie, may be seene by the effects of it.

The King is the more likely to draw to him the affections of the people, in that the pressures and miscarriages of his late Government are passed, and almost expiated by his acknowledgement of them, and a promise of redresse, and are as it were forgotten by them, who resent more their present Grievances (not considering the difference and the quality of them) then a thousand overpassed transgressions which are driven out of their Remembrances by aggravating every mistake, every circumstance of injury and violence, which the Parliament, either against their will, or upon necessity (the common excuse of States-men) doth commit.

The King (a Syllable, of as much advantage as another Army) in his very Name is sacred and powerfull, and shakes the consciences of many, who would else have willing hands, and ready Purfes to oppose His Army. Hee hath the advantage of the written Law, which hee can use now, in his defence; and by the Authority of it, joyned with the Power of his Sword can thunder out Accusations, and perhaps the Penalties of Treason against those whom he shall call his opposers. He hath a Counsell so well mingled, that he hath some verfed and cunning in the Law, and that know how to turne it to the most necessary use : Some crafty in all the windings of State; some experienced in all the Designes of Warre. His Intelligencers are in the very Bosome of his Antagonists, or else his Agents conjure : and his owne counsellors are secrets, till hee thinkes fit to divulge them. The Commanders of his Army are many and expert, and are not clamorous for pay, as if they served him to make him great, rather then themselves immediatly rich, and seeme to be fixed in their Faith to his service : The Nobility and Gentry about Him, beare their owne charges and assist his : His Army is big enough to defend it self untill the Spring, the time of Action appeares : and what it is likely to be by that time, let every man judge that considers His party abroad

abroad, and almost in all Counties. And it is a fond thing certainly to thinke his Army can want Ammunition, having any Port open : or that it will want Money more then the other ; If the Kingdome hath it, the Souldier will not be without it : if it have not, they must feed on free-cost.

Thus we find by these many Circumstances, that the Parliament hath a considerable opposite. It will now be in vaine to summe up all the strength and advantages which surely are very many, that the Parliament hath got together for its defence, and to goe through with its Designes ; We heare so much of them every day, of their power, of their successe, that I shall not need to enlarge them. My endeavour is not to magnifie the Powers of one above the other, but to shew how considerable they both are to undoe one another, and the whole State. Our Bells and Pamphlets have told us of Victories that have been given at *Winchester*, at *Chichester*, in *Yorke-shire*, and all this while I cannot see any reason to rejoyce, or to hope the businesse is any whit neerer an end : for by all this it only appears, that they are able to maintaine the Warre, not finish it. These petty conquests doe not soe much improve the affaires of the Parliament ; as the certaine noise of the thriving forces in the West, and that yet dangerous Army now in the North, doth shake them. Which may bee feared (as things are now every where) may grow able to master those parts of the Kingdome, and we know not how soone may be ready for any other service that emergent occasions shall require.

The Result then of all that hath been said, is but this, We have seen that our Peace hath been abused, that the abuse of it hath begot a Warre ; That the Warre hath already brought in many Miseries, that those miseries are ready to encrease, even to our Ruine : And that this Ruine will be certaine if a suddaine Peace interrupt it not. Thus we now seeme to have before us a Fatall choyce, Peace or Ruine. It is time then that wee looke about us, and although wee heare these struglings to be called Sedition and Rebellion on the one side, and Malignancy and Treason on the other, yet I hope it will be none of these, for the subject to looke after, and secure his endangered Being. It will surely be somewhat excusable, if we deale a little familiarly with both sides, whilst we judge of our conditions according to the light we have, from the Results of their Actions, and their many Declarations, which we have reason to looke upon as so many appeals to the people, who (as matters now stand) are like to be the Judges, the executioners, and sufferers in this Bloody Tryall.

And whilst we are to consider our owne Interests, let us lay aside partiality, and those passions and conceits which will not give us leave to seeke Peace the neereft and the best way : Let us owne Reason on which side soever wee shall find it. It is worth a mans' wonder to see on both sides men that have been al-

wayes reckoned (and deservedly amongst the most wise and sober; to see these bent to such extreames, that they will justifie their party in every circumstance and so fix their opinions to one side, as if infallibility were inherent to it, and, as if they were not at all concerned in the Actions of the other party. I shall for my owne part rejoyce, that I am not so wise as these men, and shall be glad if I shall be of their Forme, that have indifferent wits, and middle judgements. And shall argue (as I have hitherto done) if Reason offer it selfe on both sides, unlesse some mighty Politician shall be able to perswade me, that this State may subsist in its wonted Glory and Eminency without a King, or in its happy temper of Freedome and Subjection without a Parliament. When either of these Paradoxes shall be proved, I shall silently heare extreames maintained without a reply. But I looke presently to be cryed down as guilty of that heinous crime, which this exorbitant Age calls Moderation. Yet ere I be condemned, let us goe to Issue, and we shall find upon the Tryall, how justifiable, nay how necessary this kind of Transgression (if it must be so styled) now is.

*The true character of a Moderate man, I conceive to be this; He is one that loves his Countrey so well, that he grieves to see it destroyed out of a saving policy: one that is not a friend to this War, not because he is afraid to dy, but because he would hereafter live in an even and well poized Temper. One, that could never be so well satisfied of the necessity why this War began, as he is now, why it should see an end; which though he longs for, yet knows not how to pray for a Victory. One that in earnest loves the King, and thinks him Essentiall to the Being of a Parliament, and the life of this, to the well-being of all hereafter. One that honours, not adores the Parliament, because he sees they also are but men: & rather wishes them safe, and what they should be, then Omnipotent. One that would have his Religion not gawdy nor stripped stark-naked. One that loves both Law and Gospell, and would gladly have those that meddle with either, to hold themselves closer to their Text. One that is equally as much afraid of the meddling severe Clergy of New-England, as of the Ambitious pragmatick Clergy of old England. One that is sorry to see it more seasonable then safe, to speake truth. One that would have Peace, not as an effect of War, but of an Accommodation. To conclude, he is one that is yet an admirer of peace, and is earnest to see a farther Tryall, who avoids it most, & so hinders him of it: you shall then perhaps have him leave his center, and betake himselfe to one side, as if by that he had found out his enemy.*

We might take this man in pieces and examine in how many circumstances, he can (as yet) be hurtfull to the State, but we will not tye our selves to any particulars, yet we shall find all, or most of these Notions to be requisite in every one that will consider and follow his Interest as he is an English subject.

Our contention in generall seems to be like theirs that have gone to Law for some

some Royalties, some Priviledges in a Mannor, and have consumed all the Demesnes to mayntain the suit, and at last after great expence, and with much ado, have perhaps left to their posterity an enlarged Title, but an empty Estate.

Wee can laugh at such folly as this in others, and yet will not see it in our selves. It will ere long be our own case, if wee will not come to composition.

If wee could have thought it safe to have closed, when the King seemed to open his Armes, by his offer the twentieth of *January*, 1641. (or since when Hee invited to a Treaty by his Message from *Nottingham*) or to have gone so far in a Conference, as to have knowne what was really the Difference on both sides: It is very likely our Divisions now had beene lesse and fewer: and though perhaps some scars would have yet bin left unworne away, which must be the Worke of Time; yet our gaping wounds, the wide breaches which now make us Miserable, had certainly been better closed, then wee can ever hope to see them hereafter. Heaven hath given us leave to see another *January*, another offer to a Reconciliation: Let us consider how many Mischiefs have thrust themselves upon us since the last yeere; and how many worse then those, will crowde in, if another yeer must goe round in such Distractions.

To the earnest prosecutors of this War, that had rather lose themselves then their expectations, this may be said. When the General marched out of *London*, there was some Reason to hope that he might be able to performe those Instructions which the Parliament furnished him with. And although, if successe had gone along with the Designe, if some skirmishes, or a battaile might have finished his employment, it might perhaps have turned to the quiet, and advantage of the Estate; yet seeing that without infinite and dangerous difficulties, that which was aimed at, cannot be reached by the sword; it is good reason that it should be sheathed; and this Rule is sometimes worthholding unto; seeing we cannot have what we would, let us have what we may: for perhaps even that which might now be obtained, may be denied us at the next parley. For some are perswaded, that more favourable conditions, might once have bin agreed on, then can now be gained.

But let mee not be mistaken: I cannot finde yet any considerable number of men to be so far in love with peace, as to entertain it on any conditions. For most men know, that such a Peace may cut our Throats; or if it be soft, and want an edge to undoe us so quickly as the Sword: yet it may stifle all our Liberties; wee may be murdered with a Feather-bed, and smothered with Roses. Nor would I believe, that such an over-reaching Peace as this, is urged upon us. The subject is told that nothing is pretended to, which may make for  
his

his good; but it shall be granted. And I am drawn to hope the best, for these following Motives.

No Prince ever gave such ingagements to his People of a succeeding happy Government, as hee hath done by his severall Remonstrances: And if experience had delivered halfe that to us, which Eloquence would now perswade us to believe: Hee were envious to himselfe that would not make Bon-fires for every Declaration: yet some (and wise men to) advise us, that whilst wee are shewed these fetters of Gold, we should not so admire the glistring of them, as to desire to be bound by them: but though wee may thanke them for their advice, yet it is hoped wee shall not need it: For, besides the many Vowes registred with Heaven and Earth, wee have other assurances offered to us: the first, are onely to informe and win our Reason, or our Affection, not to lead our Faith; which shall be more really convinced, (as 'tis good reason it should) when he shall agree to such propositions, as all reasonable men shall be satisfied with. This (if I mistake not) wee are promised. And besides; I would not be such an utter opposit to the Cavaliers, (I mean to the most disengaged Nobility and Gentry of the Kings party;) as to believe that they can be so far transported with vanity, as to sell all the rest of the Kingdome into slavery; to purchase to themselves some strange immunities: seeing their children if not themselves must be slaves, as well as the issue of the *Round-head*; surely these will joyne (laying aside all Malice and Passion) because Posterity is concerned in it, to get safe conditions for this Parliament; and easie conditions for the Subject in generall. This I hope for, although we have scene in many, the metamorphosing power of a little private interest. But if it so unhappily fall out, that any very high things be proposed, and stood upon on the one side, without complying a little with necessity (which our Statesmen have hitherto been contented to make their Mistris, and have obeyed very far) or that reasonable and necessary things, shall not be granted on the other side; so that, that peace, which is prayed for by so many, must be still held from us: how wretched a condition will this State at the best be reduced to? For though his Majesty make us gracious Promises, and hath perhaps contrived in his just Thoughts, an equall and easie Government, yet if this Warre continue it's Revels, Hee may not be left in a capacity to make us so happy, as he would doe: For the most constant men, must be contented to change their Resolutions with the alterations of time. And, what unexpected effects attend on War? Suppose the lengthening of this War, so shake the Estates of the Nobility, and Gentry about the King, as that there will be little left to mayntaine them like themselves, when the War is ended: Who doe we think is, as it were, bound to repaire their fortunes? And whether will not they (reduced to such Necessities)



be contented to enlarge that Power; that may be so enabled to Revenge, and requite them, making the Publick Interest, to bend a little to theirs? And that amongst these, there will not be some Chiefs, some that unseen; and closely will winde up Prerogative, to make themselves greater? And doe wee believe that the Nature and Disposition of the People will not be altered? who being tired and almost worn out with the Contentions of the King and Parliament, will more easily undergoc such things, as they would heretofore have called Slavery. And although the Prince have no ayme at it, yet before he: shall be aware, he shall finde himself engaged, (by the Concurrencies of so many Circumstances that conduce to it,) in a higher and more absolute Government: so that the Constitution of this State, will become a little unlike it selfe: and then, we must know that Princes, and all such as have the Government of a Commonwealth, are compelled sometimes by a kinde of Necessitie, to dispence with the settled Rules of Law, for Reason of State; and it cannot be expected that a Prince, if hee be wise, as well as Pious; shall be so superstitious to the strict sence of any Protestations, as to neglect his interest, and the present condition of his State; which may (as it may happen) suffer very much whilst he makes a conscience to do things fit and requisite: And there will not then want Men of both Gowns that will prove, that conveniency and necessity shall excuse the conscience in such a case. Would wee avoid these inconveniences? Let us not then run the hazard of them. Let us prevent a delayed Victory by a sudden Agreement.

But I seem to guesse too confidently for the Successse so far off; for there is another considerable Army in the Field; and after infinite blood-shed, it is possible enough that this may be Victorious. What must wee then expect?

It is likely the nineteen Propositions will be very reasonable things then: It will seem requisite then, that Monarchy, or that which is called Prerogative, should be circumscribed within more popular Limits. That some Wiser, some Honester, some more Pious Men, some that are Unbyased with private respects or opinions; some that have hazarded themselves (and more) for the common good, should be Supervisors of the State; and settle it in such an order as should better please and benefit the People (such rare men as these are, the State hath had need of; I pray God a competent number of them may be found, if such an occasion should call for them.) And who knows, whether they will be able to stay here? For it may perhaps so fall out, that some other Politicke security (not to be gussed at) may seem necessary to be innovated; (which this State hath wanted; yet perhaps not needed for many hundred yeers.) And Innovations come not alone: Rules of Government are like links in a Chaine; they hang

hang one by another, and require proportion, and evennesse; if a new one be added; it must be warily fitted to the rest; or the rest reduced as neer as can be to the Resemblance of the other. And what doe wee believe will satisfie the numerous Victors, the People? Will not their ends and desires be as various, as their humours are now? Will they submit in their Opinions to that, which the Judgments of those in the Parliament (as many as the War and the consequences of it, will leave) shall agree upon? Or, will it lye in the power of the Parliament, when the State shall be in so generall a confusion, as an expiring War must leave it in, to order the Government so, that the King may Rule; and the People obey, as becomes them? I would faine assure my selfe that they might be able to performe all the good that they intend and promise; but, some thing like Reason, will not give me leave. I have considered, that those that undertake to stand at the Stern, though their wils, and their Ends direct them a straight course; yet they must be contented to steere according to the weather, the Winde, and Temper which they shall finde the Seas in.

Good God! will it not then be madnesse to fight on, if such as these, are like to be the Effects even of Victory? But Victory is such a word, as I know not how to use it in such a Discourse; for there can be truly no such thing in this Action: Losse will be all the gain we can expect from it: and we finde that the prevailing Sword must wear such a Power, as can scarce be prosperous to this State: and our next Government must have a Tincture at the least of the humours of those that shall become Masters of the Field; which may perhaps be of our owne Nation, or of another, so uncertain are the issues of War, It being an observation that the dissention of any people hath always bin an invitation to their Neighbours. If this War be defensive on the Kings part, and if his Counsell hath no other Designe in the holding it up, then meerly his Safety, and so much honour as may reach to the good of the People; and so far only the Affairs of the King: Wee have good reason to believe that a Peace would be welcome to him: And to hope that as hee is resembled to Divinity, so hee will reflect upon his Mercy as well as his Justice: and believe that hee may be as much honoured in forgetting the injuries of any; as hee can be in the Revenge of them; especially, seeing hee shews his Grace to his Subjects, whose Ruine would indeed be his weakning; though I believe this to be none of *Machievils* Principles.

I would say more, but that I would not be so bold, as to give Instructions to a King: yet the affixing this line here in the middle, to look both ways, can surely do no harm.

*Arma Teiuent (omnia dat, Qui Iusta negat.*

Not shall I undertake to be wiser then my Teachers, and give Rules to the Parliament. I shall onely advise them to remember what they are ; of whom they are made ; and why they are met. And because they want the winde (the Auspicious Gale of Complying Majesty) and enough of the Tyde (the full streame of the Peoples affections,) and seeing the storm grows high ; and it is fowl weather, it may be better to hale-in, and betake themselves to a Harbour, lest the State suffer Shipwrack, whilst the Helm seems to be in their hands.

But I may be a little bolder with my Fellow Subjects, and shall enquire what truly is their Interest now, whilst their safety is thus farre endangered.

Slavery (the fear of which is accounted worse then death, by such as have been born Free-men) could never befall us, if we did not help to binde our selves by our own hands, and admit it by our own Divisions ; The People while they hold together, are like a vast Ocean ; an absolute Power cannot possibly wade through to it's ends, unless they fall back one from another, and become like those wonderful Walls of Water, which gave the Israelites leave to passe through on dry Land : Should the fond English thus farre sever themselves, we should also be a wonder to Posterity. This is feared on both sides, and avoided rightly by neither. We fight to make one side Great ; which being done, the other must needs be too little : If the inferiour parts of the Body, the Members of it, be made to swell beyond their due proportion, we presently dislike the Symptomes, and fear a Dropsie ; And that body whose head is swelled, and made greater by ill humours, then it should be, is of a diseased Constitution, hath but weak Limbes ; and almost nothing but leanness every where else.

There may be Reason to be as well affraid of an extravagant popular Power, as the exorbitancies of Monarchy. But, whilst we endeavour to avoid the one, Let us be carefull that we do not engage our selves in the other : It were well therefore, That when Propositions shall be tendered to His Majesty, That the Nobility and Gentry, (for I hope the former Delinquents, and Papists do not advise, though they assist) which have separated themselves from the Parliament, should discover themselves without Passion, according to their true Interests, how farre they would have it stoop in their Requests : Let them consider how great, or how little they would have had the Power of Prerogative as

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have

have been, when they groaned under the large Extent of it, and when they had nothing in their eye, but the meer good and safety of the Common-wealth, which is now in the same, yet in more danger then ever they saw it. How farre they would then have had The abusers of their Princes Power, The destroyers of Law and Justice, The cut-throats of the State (the Monopolizers) How farre, I say, they would then have had these punished, and made examples; how much of the insulting Clergies wings, they would then have been glad to have clipped. Let their zeal for a Reformation both in Church and State, be such, in every circumstance, as it was then; and more need not be desired. Let them not, because they are angry with themselves, (I mean with their fellow Subjects) revenge themselves upon Posterity, by setting up against themselves not onely a larger Power, but an Authority also, even by their own Grants, by their own Swords. It lies not in the Power of the Subject to conferre more toward their Slavery, then to pull down a Parliament (upon what necessity or pretence soever) with their own hands; This shall be a lasting President, and Disparagement in all Ages; and a warrant to all Princes to discountenance them, since they work no better effects upon the State; and that side must be sure to own all the guilt, which shall be overthrown. A Parliament will be said to be the sole Author of these Miseries: Thus it will become the Disdain, which was alwayes hitherto the Darling of the People: Thus a perpetuall Prejudice shall stick upon all hereafter; and then what use shall the over-born Subject have of his Sanctuary? If it want Reverence, it will want Power; If it want Power, it will onely serve to give away our Estates, not amend them. And is it not likely when the improvident People shall enflame their Prince in a Contestation, where themselves are so neerly concerned, That it will instruct such a one as shall by Himself, or His Counsellors hereafter, have an aym at an absolute Command; to struggle with them, at any time, when they ask in Parliament for things convenient, or necessary; and to call it a Beam of His Prerogative, though it be indeed but a false Reflection of an usurped Light? Let them seriously consider to which side they ought in right Reason to give the most advantage, in these Propositions. When a Prince wins any thing from His People, (much more when they urge it upon Him) He will be sure to hold fast what He hath, and many times improves, never diminishes it: Whereas, if the Subject gain any extraordinary thing from the Crown (how necessary

necessary soever) with what difficulty is it enjoyed? How many Tricks and Invasions have the Instruments of State, to cozen the people of the benefit of it?

Our Predecessors have been as much afraid of the greatnesse of their Sovereign, though over other Nations, as of the Diminution of their own Estate; and therefore did their best to diminish His Power, or Fortunes, lest by enlarging Himself upon a neighbouring Adversary, He might forget Himself, and become too high for them. Surely then, some such care is due to the Affairs at this time; yet it must be averred, That he that robs his Prince of His Honour, impairs the reputation of his Country; and he that would fix any Honour in Him, which cannot be communicable to the Common-wealth, sins against both.

The Punctuality and Nicety of the Honour and Greatnesse of the King, hath seldome been enough to hold up a Warre, with wary Subjects, especially amongst themselves: Let them take care to do things safe and honourable for the Common-wealth (of which He is chief) and it will be impossible that the Kings Honour and Safety should not be mingled with it. I hope He will finde as much Honour in saving a perishing Kingdom, as if He were gaining a new one. And whilst He thus makes a Conquest on His Peoples hearts, He renders Himself greater then His driving Counsellors could make Him, were they at the end of their Designs. It were worth our joy to see Him return triumphing, with, but not over His People.

And as that Party should do their duty, so is there reason that they on the other side should do theirs. Let them remember that they have a King, That whilst He is in a Cloud, we are in the Shade, and want that Influence which may revive the State, and make it flourish. Let no man so dote upon a Parliament, as to think it wants errors; nor conceit there can be any Government contrived so proper to the Nature and Constitution of this State, as Monarchy, so circumscribed and qualified as ours is, by the wisdom and care of our Predecessors and the providence of this Parliament. Let them lay aside all violent conceits, and expectations; and let them believe (having so good Reasons for it). That they will sooner reach their Destruction, than that thorough Reformation which by many is aimed at. Let every man value the blessings of Union, by the miseries we have undergone by Division: Let us seek Peace earnestly; but let it not as yet be by this Argument: *Bellum faciamus, ut Pacem habeamus, nam finis Belli Pax est*: for here

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to Hen. 5.

it will prove too true, That *Finis hujus Belli Ruina erit*. Yet, let us know, That Peace (lest we be over-reached in the match) must now be woo'd with circumspection : That the Managers of Treaties, are State Jugglers ; and that the most Interested men are likeliest to be employed in it : That those therefore that never had any minde to the Warre, have Reason to be carefull how the Peace be concluded : That it is requisite, both sides should make themselves as considerable as they can at such a time : That to pay the Army now, is to improve the benefit of a Peace ; which, at best, by this kinde of conclusion will yeild lesse advantage to the Subject, then to the King ; though it be now absolutely necessary for both.

And we have Reason to make the best use of this nick of Time, and not deferre it an instant farther.

For after all this endeavour of both sides : after every one hath done his best, toward the great cure of this languishing State ; the disease hath been let runne so farre, That it will almost be beyond all hope, that we shall ever see a recovery : Into so desperate a Consumption are we fallen, partly by their fault, that should have had more care of our health ; in whose Power we all thought it once lay, to prepare such Preservatives for us, that we might have been settled in such a healthfull Constitution, that none of these evils could now have vexed us. Our sad Case is now such, That we have an Incensed God ; an angry King ; a thwarting Councell ; a heady Clergy ; a divided Nobility ; a discontented Gentry ; a distempered People ; a distracted Religion ; an unhinged State ; a confused Government ; undermining Adversaries ; a Civill Warre ; an increase of Souldiers ; consumption of Treasure ; disunion in united Kingdoms ; lost Reputation ; an ununiversal Jealousie ; a defection from the Principles of sound Policy ; a Parliament which should be the Redresse of all these, made quite otherwise, to us, by some that have abused it : and generally such a conspiracy ; such a complying of ill Symptoms ; that even Miracles must be wrought, or else we perish. In a word, Such is our doubtfull condition ; That even a Peace, may destroy us ; But a Warre, must. We had not need then, neglect any opportunities of being happy, seeing we are so beset with misery. And we shall finde now, That both sides are somewhat evenly ballanced : And it concerns the Subject on both sides, (especially one side) to keep them so, untill the Parley shall be concluded ; which if it shall now take no effect, may justly make us despair of such an other  
Hint



Hint to a Reconcilement; For we shall scarce ever again see them so well poysed, so fit for a compofure; feeing now their equall Powers may make them afraid of each other. It may be now hoped (if ever) (fo that both fides will do their parts, according to their Interests;) That Truth, and Peace may conclude the Treaty. I do not mean fuch a Truth, as the Rigid Antagonists of both fides, intend.

Nor am I able to give you the Character of this Truth; fince it is yet to be agreed on: Yet I thus conceive of it. It is a *Medium* betwixt the two Extreame, which both fides feem to aym at, whileft they are at this diftance: by which (if we are not decreed to confufion) Religion may be fo fetled, That our Clergy may no more be States-men, and better Church-men; That our Laity may not intermeddle with Ecclesiasticks; That our Formalities and Ceremonies in Religion, may not drown the fubftance of it; and that we may not quite loofe the fubftance, to make fure not to be any more troubled with the fhadow; That to Preach often may not be counted an offence; and that to apply themfelves to fhifme and fedition, may not be called Preaching: that the refolved Proteftant may not fee his Religion fo altered, fo meanly drefsed, as not to be like it felf; Nor the weaker Proteftant, fee it fo Gay, fo full of Trym, that his humble Confcience dares fcarce own it: Thus we may provide, On the one hand againft the encrease of Papifts, And on the other for the regaining of Separatifts.

And for that other Truth, which we would have in the State: I think we can make a neerer approach to it, by no other way, then an Accommodation. State-Truth is the Brat of Imagination, and never had any reall being: no Government was ever fo refined, by an innovating Reformation, but it had defects, or extravagancies; and by the mifcarriage of the fucceeding States-men, quickly fetled into as much (though not the fame) corruption: when Ambition, and Intereft fhall be weeded out of the hearts of men, I will look for this Purity, this Truth. But we have heard long fince, That *Terra Aftraa reliquit*, Therefore I fhall hope only to finde it in Heaven: In the mean time, we fhall in vain look for Purity, in that which we call Truth, if it muft be dyed in more of our Bloud. I had rather fee a little, contributed to the Weal of the State, by the hands of both; then a great deal accumulated by a fingle Power: the one I fhall hope to enjoy with Peace; the other will never be kept without ftrong contention.

But if both fides will obftinately keep their diftance: If the one

cries out for Peace with Honour ; the other for Peace with Truth, and scorn to entertain Peace, unless they may have so much of both as they demand : Surely, this unhappy Nation, betwixt these their great Champions is like to lose its Peace, Truth, and Honour.

I will now ramble no further in these Contemplations : I was big of these thoughts, and could not be quiet untill I was delivered of them, though in my private Papers. Thus many times doth a minde fill'd with grief, finde ease by emptying it self in Complaints, though it can meet with no other Redresse.

This Discourse, being grounded upon our immediate condition ( if things must run on in their old Carere ) may in many things perhaps be out of date ere a few dayes passe, and be like an Almanack calculated for the last year ; and it is very possible (and yet not out of levity) That ere long I may also vary from some things that seem now to be my opinion : For where Reason discovers it self, I am resolv'd to go along with her. And there may be many Respects to make an un-interested man to change his opinions, and the party to which he seem'd neerest in his affections. The discreet or politike carriage of a Businesse, may make it worse, or better.

That Cause which was the most dangerous at the first, and had the least merit in it, may through the extremities of the contrary Party, be safest, and most deserving at the last. And though an even and moderate man be unwilling to engage himself in War, on either side ; yet, if it shall appear by the perversnesse of any, That no hope, no possibility of Peace be left him, but by the Sword, It will then be held the best Piety to be a Souldier, *Nam Pia Arma, quibus nulla, nisi in Armis, Spes est.*

*Difficile est Satyras non scribere.*

JANUARY.



FINIS.

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